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233 474 571 578 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the directions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 828 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers [577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the [934] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully [234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 ●461 [579] Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt. Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goatherd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64?] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking-pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pastures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own
[572] health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man, the shepherd's honour is touched.

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A man may occasionally give his wife a kid to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circular and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἁψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plaster both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool (λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today professional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the different members of the family to one another. The shepherd husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife for the simple but to him very important attentions which he associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάτ) is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit and eat together. For in this most private situation, the relationship of mutual identification between the members of the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. The sanction However reluctant a man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

There are two other circumstances which may help to persuade a father to cede his position at the customary time. Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country. The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority. — Analyst

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593 858 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάρικο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 582 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately 593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the 578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 578 461 463 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the specialization of technical roles.[8] Shepherding in the Zagori country demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[8] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

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593 578 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life. [539 836] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in [578 582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband [461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[6]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important [627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation [584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to [582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

[6] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

[527] If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/153 cont./

596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners . However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

596 461 474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

/154 cont./

596 461 474 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 434 474 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dispostion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 434 474 454 556 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And [571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 474 556 571 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have repercussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/ a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

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474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(887) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

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474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(695) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

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17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

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CHAPTER IV

53 ## ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

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533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 635 [179] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

[114] the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 533 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be